THE DOUBTING ATLAS.

SYNDICALISM
AND THE
CO-OPERATIVE COMMONWEALTH
(HOW WE SHALL BRING ABOUT THE REVOLUTION).

By

Emile Pataud and Emile Pouget,

(of the Confederation Generale du Travail.)

Foreword by

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Preface by

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Translated from the French by
Charlotte and Frederic Charles.

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One of the best existing descriptions of Syndicalism, in the form of a vivid historical story of the Syndicalist transformation that is supposed to have taken place in France, and an intensely interesting account of the new institutions at work, told by two men who had lived through this wonderful time. It is an indispensable book for all who wish to understand the aims and methods of Syndicalism. Whether in sympathy with Socialist ideas or not, everyone should read this book, especially everyone who wishes to be well informed on the great movements that are shaping themselves throughout the industrial world of to-day, one result of which will be the freeing of women.

Some idea of the wide range of subjects discussed may be seen from the headings of the Chapters.

I.—The Break up of the Ice. II.—The Morrow of the Massacre. III.—The Declaration of the Strike. IV.—Let there be Darkness. V.—The Funeral of the Victims. VI.—The Position of the Government. VII.—The Beginning of the Syndicalist Attack. VIII.—The Revolutionary Requisitions. IX.—The Revolt of the Army. X.—The Fall of Parliamentarism. XI.—The Attack on the Banks. XII.—The General Strike in the Provinces. XIII.—The Movement of the Peasants. XIV.—The End of Commercialism. XV.—The Railways and Post Office. XVI.—The Life of the City. XVII.—The Organisation of Production. XVIII.—The Trade Union Congress. XIX.—The Land to the Peasants. XX.—The Arming of the People. XXI.—The Death Throes of Reaction. XXII.—Expropriation and Exchange. XXIII.—The Liberal Professions. XXIV.—Education. XXV.—The Creation of Abundance. XXVI.—Foreign Complications. XXVII.—The Last War. XXVIII.—Luxuries. XXIX.—Art and Religion. XXX.—The Freeing of Woman. Conclusion. Bibliography. Translators Note.

From Press Notices.

The dull-witted people who glance hastily at this book will jump to the conclusion (if dull people ever jump at anything) that this is a volume which deals with political economy, or sociology, or some of the allied sciences that bear impressive names. As usual, the slow-wits will be wrong. This is a book of the coming Syndicalist Revolution, as it visualises itself in the minds of two of the leaders of that philosophy of life. And the first thing that appeals to the reader is the fact that this vision of the future is put in the form of a romantic story—not a story about the private affairs of a pair of lovers; but the romance of that greatest of all adventures, the adventure of human society. There is a titanic passion about the angry and triumphant crowds that sweep through the pages of this romance; it is the infinite multiple of individual passion.

ROMANCE, NOT STATISTICS.

Let the reader get that fact well into the mind; this book of Syndicalist philosophy is cast in the form of a romantic story. It gives us human beings—not the puppets of statisticians. If you observe carefully, you will note that it is usually the revolutionaries who take most strict account of that alarming phenomenon—human nature. Therefore they are inclined to express themselves in the form of romance. The gentle, moderate people, who go out towards reform with trembling (as a child walks down a dark lane), these gentle persons know nothing of romance. They can only draft Acts of Parliament and draw up tables of statistics. They may be useful in their way; but it is a humble trade. In the crafts of life they must rank with the unskilled. These Syndicalist philosophers think in terms of flesh and blood.

A QUICKER PULSE.

This is a book which, if it have good fortune, may well become one of the text books of humanity. It has that greatest of all assets—a superb confidence and a great hopefulness. It is a book which makes the pulse beat quicker. Most great deeds and thoughts that leave their mark on the world come with a plunging heart-beat. It is the smaller things that go with a sluggish flow. That is why calm statesmanship does so little. Our comrades Pouget and Pataud know too much of humanity to be hopeful of gentle and silent change. They think reform is more likely to come riding on a hurricane. In this book the Revolution begins by the police, the servants of the rich shooting at a reasonable mob of strikers. It is an act which lights the flame. That has so often been the way; the rich dig their own graves. Revolution will, perhaps, come not because the people are wise, but because their masters are so unutterly foolish.

A CLEARER BRAIN.

But this book is not merely inspiring. It is convincing. It is the most complete statement of the Syndicalist theory and practice which has yet appeared. There are some who will shrink away from the breadth of its sweep. That is to be expected. Timid souls always dread what is new. There is no one, perhaps, who will agree with it all. It would be a dull creed that could find no unbelievers. But take it as a whole, let the orthodox reformers produce, if they can, a more coherent and a more probable forecast of the future. There is no logical flaw in the argument as a whole. When a certain number of people think as Pataud and Pouget think, then it will all happen so. It is merely a matter of time. That is our final taunt to the rich. Sooner or later we must win, while they must lose.

BUREAUCRAT V. MAN.

It is hard to see why the orthodox State-Collectivists should be bold enough to think that they have a stronger case than the Syndicalists, who base their faith on the action of the rank and file of the Trade Unionists and the Co-operators. By what right have the Collectivists this supreme confidence in the success of the official to save society? We have officials innumerable to-day: we can observe them in action—or inaction, let us say, rather. Do they inspire confidence? Are there any good grounds for believing that they have more possibilities for good than that development of the Trade Unionists, which the Syndicalists desire? Let the State-Collectivists get it out of their heads, without delay, that they have an unanswerable case. They have nothing better than a debatable case, at the best.

THE MASQUERADING STATE.

The State has been masquerading so long as the organ of the popular mind. Now the truth is better known. It is just nothing more than the

entrenched fortress of the Fat Men. It is a fortress which they have built for their own defence; and as the chief instrument of tyranny. It is time, indeed, that some brighter minds began to be suspicious whether this invention of the master-class is really the fittest method for the workers' use. It may well be that the official and the State are the real root of all evil. Anyhow, it is worth most careful examination. This book must be read by everyone at once.—*G.R.S.T. in* THE DAILY HERALD, *reprinted by permission.*

This book by the two well-known French Syndicalists puts Utopia on the map, and hands us a railway guide of how to get there and enjoy our visit. Get there now, to-day, too, without waiting for any special election excursion train billed to run God knows when, as the late-lamented Taft would say.

The story begins in Paris. A brutal exercise of authority by the police leads to a General Strike throughout all France, which finally turns into a successful revolutionary struggle. I am not sure but that the battle is won rather too easily, yet, on the other hand, solidarity accomplishes wonders. And solidarity, we must remember, is not altogether a matter of organisation and long preparation. The extraordinary things men do spontaneously when animated by the will to do is often astounding.

It is probably because the authors are Syndicalists, and hence have a truer idea of the future of society than previous Utopia builders, that they have given us a more than usual logical conception. Certainly the book to me is much the most likely picture of what we may expect than anything I have yet read.

Bellamy never could interest me in either his "Looking Backward" or "Equality." They were books that I always cheerfully handed over to the other fellow. Morris's "News from Nowhere" interested me merely as a fanciful sketch.

But this Utopia of Pataud and Pouget grips one with a sense of reality. It will do a prodigious amount of good in getting those to move who will only move when the vision of the future is put on the cinema for them.

...The essence of the book is to show that the workers merely by means of witholding their labour can win their great battle. The authors show this most graphically in their first chapters....

...The main thing is that the authors have given us a most convincing sketch of how to get Socialism without electing Bergers and such like to Parliament, and have also shown us a most delightful sketch of life under Syndicalism.

"WILSHIRE'S MAGAZINE."

...They have certainly written a remarkably interesting book.

The "Revolution" goes with a swing from start to finish and every chapter shows signs of having been carefully thought out.

The lessons of the Great Revolution and the Commune have been taken to heart, and the blunders of those times avoided; of course, the Authors have some very thin ice to skate on sometimes, but they manage to get across safely....The fall of Capitalism necessitates a re-organisation of production and consumption, and here the authors show themselves as Communists.

But the truth is that the difficulties in production and consumption that arise are solved by what one might describe as the application of common sense.

There seems nothing improbable or forced about the matter.....The book is a bold attempt to foretell the course of a future Revolution, and shows the authors' broad outlook....

The book is full of ideas for revolutionists, and the authors' optimism is very stimulating. Will Dyson contributes some typical cartoons.

"FREEDOM."

Nearly everybody enjoys reading about Utopias, where everybody is happy and nobody is poor. The millionaire enjoys reading about Utopias as much as the man who has only got the price of food for a day in his pocket.

There is some incorruptible spiritual atom in all of us which thirsts for a universal beauty and good.

There is very little real difference about ideals among men.

The real differences arise when they begin to consider ways and means of hastening the divine consummation of our life.

There is a natural tendency, on the part of the man who has already got more than his ideal share of the good things of the world, to insist that the first steps to the millennium should not be a sharing all round, but particular attention should be devoted to new and contrite hearts.

The very poor man who has not got his ideal share of wealth, but who believes his heart is all

...It is not only a great indictment against tyranny; it is a great indictment against government. ...What a system of "no government" is like we will not attempt to explain. We refer the reader to the book....It seeks the co-operative ideal, "Each for all, and all for each."...

"THE CO-OPERATIVE NEWS."

The general tone of this work is indicated by the names on the title-page.

The translation from the French has been done (and, on the whole, done admirably) by those enthusiasts for progress, Charlotte and Frederic Charles; Tom Mann and Peter Kropotkin lend each other mutual aid in the recommendation of the book to the public; and the illustrations are by Will Dyson.

As for the authors,...they are, of course, the Real Thing.

They condemn wholesale...all present methods of governmental control; they are out irreconcilably ...against whatever of power or of selfishness battens upon our present social system.

...The emotional part of all this is exceedingly well done; we get a vivid and memorable picture of the hot resentment, the keen anxiety.....

The revolt of the army is really admirably portrayed, especially the scene in which the soldiers, marched out to shoot, threw themselves fraternally into the arms of the strikers.

...But the serious reconstruction was, of course, undertaken by the Trade Unions...that being the essential Syndicalist idea.

.....many such touches in the book reiterate unconsciously the fact that Syndicalist thought hovers uneasily between communist anarchism on the one hand and State control on the other. This, of course, in itself is no condemnation; it might be that a solution could be found in such a compromise.....

We see in this sketch of Syndicalism what the spirit should be; but the Socialist is still left to point out how best it may grow and operate.

"THE NEW STATESMAN."

....Such is the principle, and it must not be dismissed with a smile, for it can properly be suggested that the railways, for instance, can be quite as efficiently run by the men, their officials and managers, as by shareholders and their boards. Indeed, the authors present a very seductive case, lay down a system which may be workable, where every human being will be entitled to the means of existence, while labour will be rewarded with luxuries.

And they make a number of good points; they are quite right in thinking that trusts simplify socialisation, that adulteration will automatically disäppear with the idea of profit, and that "scamping" also will vanish when luxuries depend on results.

They have made great efforts to be reasonable, to cope with the lazy man and the criminal by sending them to Coventry, to show how they will, so far as possible, leave the peasant on his holding, and generally alter conditions as little as possible; they have made a very fine case for Syndicalism, and vitiated it only by establishing it on revolution. .....The Syndicalist idea is as sound as any other form of Socialism. Each trade can be controlled by its union....Syndicalism must be evolutionary; it must mean that each organised trade is to be purchased as a going concern by the State and leased to the union that represents it.

Whether compensation be given is a detail if gold becomes valueless, and it is open to the unions to ask for a change in the basis of the State, to demand a congress of workers in lieu of a Parliament; all this may not be possible, but can be debated, for there are many among us who fear the tyranny of the State....

"DAILY NEWS."

...It is an imaginative forecast of what is to happen in the year 19....., and may be described as the Utopia of French Syndicalism.

It is really more than that.....It is well told and will stand comparison with similar efforts by writers of greater intellectual pretensions than the French trade unionists who have written it.

...M. Pouget.....is credited with a more powerful influence than any other leader; he is.....a man of character and capacity and the Moltke of the Syndicalist campaign.

The present work by these collaborators is probably intended partly as an answer to critics who contend that Syndicalists never explain how their scheme can be realized or enter into details and partly as a propagandist and educational stimulus. ...Syndicalism was bound to have its own Utopia and the result will probably be a considerable growth of enlistment under the banner. The story is worked out with skill and so circumstantially as to acquire an impressive air of reality. The practical difficulties urged by critics are not ignored; they are posed one after another, and—easily surmounted....

THE TIMES."

.....They have written a vivid prophecy of the coming Syndicalist transformation of society. Out of the general strike, the collapse of Parliamentarism, the downfall of State and Capitalistic centralisation comes the new Society, and readers may watch the reorganisation of production, distribution, and exchange on Syndicalist lines.

"THE CHRISTIAN COMMONWEALTH."

As Tom Mann contributes a foreword and Prince Kropotkin the preface, and as the drawings are by that remarkable artist, Will Dyson, the reader may be assured that the Syndicalism served to him in this volume will be undiluted....

"T.P.'S WEEKLY."

...This Utopia is the opposite of Edward Bellamy's in that in the American's work the State is everything, in this book it is nothing.

Syndicalism here attempts to explain how it will come into its kingdom....If one could only make these assumptions what a glorious world we should be able to march into.

There is no denying the interesting style in which Pataud and Pouget have written their vision....

"THE STAR."

.....The authors have given us a French workman's views of how the revolution may come, and of the forms of Society into which it will crystallise..... The preface itself would need a review to do it justice...it shows at its best that critical faculty which has made Peter Kropotkin such a valuable asset to the revolutionary movement.

...How step by step the General Strike became the Revolution; how from a defensive movement it was forced to become an attack, is well shown.

...Brushing aside all appeals from the Socialist politicians to form a provisional Government, the Unions set out to re-organise industry. The Unions become the administrative machinery, and the State disappears.

How the manifold problems, set up by this tremendous change, are solved is well set forth. Many of the suggestions are stimulative, and all are along the line of probability. The shrewd commonsense shown in bridging over difficulties in effecting the practical compromises of life under the new order bear the plain imprint of working class thought. It is most emphatically a book to be read by every active worker in the Trade Union movement. ...The fine drawings by Will Dyson...form splendid examples of that artist's genius.

"THE SOUTH WALES WORKER."

...It is a remarkable book, more interesting to me than Bellamy's "Looking Backward."

"THE YORKSHIRE FACTORY TIMES."

.....the organisation (of industry) is left to the instinctive genius of the workers themselves. They will choose their trade, they will choose whether they will work singly or in groups; in fact, they will do exactly as they like, so long as they work, and it is assumed that everything will go on smoothly. .....and that everybody will be happy because free.

This may be so, or it may not be so.

Whatever may happen when the State is abolished is a matter of prophecy, and anybody may be right or wrong concerning the millennium.

But the practical question remains: "How is the State to be abolished?" The authors, of course, rely on the General Strike and sabotage to do this, and quite half the book is devoted to telling in detail how this will be done....

"THE NEW AGE."

The French edition of the book of which Prince Kropotkin speaks in high terms has met with an excellent reception.

"THE NATION."

This is a book by.....two of the best known French Syndicalist leaders.

It gives a description of Syndicalism...and an account of the new institutions at work.

"DAILY EXPRESS."

This book may be commended to those who want to know the best that can be said for that "Syndicalism" which is our latest social scare. The tone throughout is generous and humane, as might be expected from the fact of Prince Kropotkin contributing a preface.

...We cannot help following with interest the ingenious devices by which, in this imaginary history,

all the forces of the State and of Capitalism are outmanoeuvred, disintegrated, and finally annihilated, without ever being able to come to grips with their elusive antagonist.

.....when there is no longer any such thing as law-protected property, or any such personage as a Government official, from one end of France to the other—then the real interest of the book for serious thinkers begins.

That such a social cataclysm as is here depicted might be brought about, in such a country as modern France, is just conceivable. That out of it could be evolved a stable equilibrium, with more harmony, contentment, and material prosperity than before, without setting up anything in the nature of a Government to replace that which had been destroyed, would seem a priori absolutely impossible, and curiosity is strained to the utmost as to how the impossible is achieved....They want everybody to be fed, clothed, housed, amused, and presumably doctored and buried, up to a standard, simpler no doubt than that of the present-day millionaire, but equally removed from that of the present-day pauper. To anticipate all these requirements is quite as much a psychological as an arithmetical problem.

...From our point of view, the first two articles of the Syndicalist creed, namely, (1) to put no faith in governments, (2) to put unbounded faith in voluntary co-operation, are only fantastic exaggerations of essentially healthy sentiments, which at the present time stand more in need of encouragement than of repression....

"THE INDIVIDUALIST."

...All who concern themselves with social questions will read this book with curiosity, pleasure and interest. They will there find developed thé idéas and aspirations which are fermenting amongst the workers of the world, and which are more and more coming to the front amongst all classes of people.

"BELFAST EVENING TELEGRAPH."

...The two authors of this book are, however, brilliant advocates of Syndicalism, and in the course of their account of how the revolution was accomplished they succeed in giving a remarkably clear outline of their ideal state.

Special stress is laid on the part played by co-operative societies and other voluntary associations in the building up of the Syndicalist State....

"ABERDEEN FREE PRESS."

It will be read with attention by all who are interested in social questions, whether they are in sympathy with its views or not,...

"NOTTINGHAM GUARDIAN."

...It is, however, interesting as being the crystallised programme of Syndicalism and Socialism; and, to those who look upon Syndicalism and Socialism as being like "Caesar and Pompey—very much alike," it will be a revelation of the marked distinction between the two gospels, from some points of view, in favour of the former,...

The Syndicalist desires to achieve the same object partly by persuasion, partly by the boycott, but there is to be no "State," no bureaucracy, no inspectors, and sub-inspectors....

The bulk of the book of course consists in an elaborate account of how Society was re-organised. There was to be no Government—no municipalities—no "Commune." All these were anathema. Everything was arranged by consent after discussion by the delegates in the unions or the trade federations or the general Congress of unions,...

"THE ACADEMY."

...It is an indispensable book for all who wish to understand the aims...of Syndicalism....

IRISH DAILY TELEGRAPH."

...Those who are desirous of forming a clear conception of what Syndicalism involves and of knowing what Syndicalists have to say for themselves may value this book.

"ABERDEEN JOURNAL."

Two of the best-known French Syndicalist leaders, Emile Pataud and Emile Pouget, have written a story explanatory of what may soon occur if Syndicalist aims and methods should develop....

"LITERARY WORLD."

WILL HE FIRE?

(It is the wage-slave in uniform whose business it is to shoot down the wage-slave without uniform when so ordered.)

THE GENERALISSIMO OF THE FORCES (when the un-uniformed half of the wage-slaves go out on strike—to uniformed half): "Present arms! And if you still persist in refusing to work on the terms laid down by me...at the word of command—FIRE!!!"

(By permission of the "Daily Herald.")